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The first Matauvave came from Mua, Tongatabu. He was accompanied by an official named Uto [probably Kolomoeuto mentioned above]. Matauvave went to live in Uoleva Island. If he wanted to let the people know that he was going to give a command (*fono*) he would send someone to the north shore of Uoleva to remove his garment and expose his buttocks. Then the people in Lifuka would know that the governor was going to give a command as to certain work to be done. If the signal were given in the afternoon, the people assembled that evening in Uoleva. When a chief's grave was to be dug or a pigeon mound to be erected sufficient labor was obtained for the earth to be dug and the mound formed in the night. In the morning the mound (*sia*) would be already made. The only reason the informant could assign for the night work was to make the people "sorry."

Uoleva was set aside as a pigeon reserve and had only the necessary people dwelling on it. The Uoleva mounds were built by the Lifuka people. The name of the first mound built on Uoleva was Finevalapililolo. The second was Siamaka. The third was Siakape; the fourth was Kulufotu. Kulufotu was where the wild pigeons were caught with nets set on long poles, into which they were decoyed by a captive pigeon on a long cord. Tunuetefekekaekaieteika was the fifth pigeon mound built and Tulikituahaa the sixth. A seventh mound was Mamataatu. The present Matauvave said there were many others built, about thirty in all, but he knew the names of only seven. He said all were provided with ramps or steps and that some were larger than the Siamafuauta in Tongatabu. He knew of no sacrifices in connection with pigeon mound construction.

Matauvave would stand on the *sia* of Mamataatu. At dusk a flock of pigeons would make a sudden appearance in Lofanga Island. Then they would come to Matauvave's *sia* and he would catch them. But the *lupetoto* (perhaps "pigeon spirit") died there and not one pigeon came again. Then he shifted to Muitoa in Haano and the name of the *sia* erected there by the Haano people is Toloke. It seems likely that the numerous pigeon mounds on the neighboring Nukunamu Island may have been erected also under a Matauvave's directions. Pigeons migrated from Samoa to Tonga in October, when it was said that anciently they came in such numbers as to look like a cloud. They were said to remain in Tonga until March. [The species is *Globicera pacifica*.]

The mound Huluipaongo on the shore of Lifuka Island, facing Uoleva, is the burial place of holders of the Matauvave title, the latest one interred being the mother's brother of the incumbent of 1920. This mound is said to have originated from the clay thrown ashore by people washing their heads in the sea after building pigeon mounds. The clay used occurs as a subsoil in Uoleva.

The first Matauvave is reputed to have built the fortress Velata, Lifuka Island. All Haapai furnished laborers for this work.

One Matauvave came and stayed in a place called Tokilangi, which stands in Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka. His daughter went to Uoleva and she slipped from the ford (*ahanga*) and hurt herself. That is why the place is called Kofokohaangatoma. All the people were then told to make a road connecting the two islands at low tide and it was called Taaemaka. There were two roads made.

The first Matauvave who was taken to be governor of Haapai died there. He was buried on the seashore at Nuanga, Lifuka Island. His god was Aloalo. Tamatuiumee was the name of his *api* or tract of land.

Another man was appointed [Taufa Tofua] to dwell in Tofua Island and at the same time the warrior Havili was appointed to stay in Lofanga Island.

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recorded in Samoan tales and somewhat suggest the suttee (op. cit., pp. 94, 344).

The Tui Tonga was often borne along in a litter. If he saw a bearer who was particularly zealous and went long without a change, he would stop the bearers and tell the zealous one to run, and the man would be given the land around which he ran without a spell.

Mats and tapa upon which the Tui Tonga had rested or sat would not be used again by their owners but taken to the Tui Tonga, or passed to his retinue.

The power of the Tongan kings to commandeer labor is obvious from the number of tombs, and from such a mighty structure as the great truncated stepped pyramid of Uluakimata I, known as the Paepae o Telea. The blocks of stone of which this tomb is composed are massive, some weighing as much as 30 tons. The quarrying and moving of these huge blocks must have required the labor of large numbers of men.

The following anecdote refers to the hard labor imposed by the Tui Tonga upon their subjects in connection with the erection of the great royal tombs.

> One day, when the men were pulling the stone along from the quarry, they reached a place called Tongia. They had a short rest there and went and drank at a water hole called Anameana. So scant was the water that all was consumed before half of the workmen had drunk, so they started pulling again on the stone and dragged it to Mua. The people who did not get a drink at Anameana went down to the two little brooks which are called Pokitau and Malifu and drank all the water which was there, and yet they did not have enough. They went then to another brook called Fangafeatu and then they were satisfied.

According to a fanciful version, Mounu, an artificial pier of stones at Lapaha, the Tui Tonga's seat, was built of the refuse from the great double vessel *Lomipeau* (26, p. 68). Another version states that it was the beginning of a causeway which the Tui Tonga Pau planned to span the great lagoon of Tongatabu from Lapaha to Tukutonga on the opposite shore near the mouth of the lagoon. Whether or not Pau really planned such a work, it is certain that the construction of the pier represents the organized labor of a considerable body of workmen doubtless acting under the orders of one of the kings. The great dry moat at Lapaha is another indication of centralized control of labor.

Cook (19, vol. 1, pp. 289, 357) speaks of the Siamafuauta as a rest mound (*esi*) which was the property of Pau and he mentions also such a mound on the summit of Eua Island. Such rest mounds, surrounded by shade trees, were frequently erected for kings and great chiefs (42).

If the Tui Tonga's daughter was fed so lavishly that she began to lose her waistline or develop other traits of unloveliness, the servants who were responsible for the overfeeding forfeited their lives at the Tui Tonga's discretion.

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The fishing place for bonito is the Hakau Tapu (Prohibited Reef), lying off Hihifo, Tongatabu. As the name implies, commoners could fish there only under instructions from Ata. The first Faoa for this district is said to have been sent to live at Kanokupolu by a Tui Haa Takalaua, now, however, he is appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. At the coronation of the Tui Kanokupolu the Faoa makes a speech concerning the capture of fish. The Faoa settled the time of the bonito fishing following the observation of flocks of birds over the Hakau Tapu, but had no power to order the people to fish. When the time was ripe he notified Ata, who sent messages to all the men of the Hihifo district who were able to paddle, ordering them to participate in the fishing on a set day. Fish caught on such a communal expedition were brought to Ata, who forwarded the best of them to the Tui Kanokupolu, took what he wished himself, and then allowed the rest to be divided among the fishermen and paddlers. Faoa himself and some of Ata's inferior relatives, such as sons and brothers, carried the fine fish to the Tui Kanokupolu. The method of fishing is described by McKern (43).

Faoa and his relatives and the relatives of Ata cut the bonito in a special way, a person cutting it otherwise was punished with a thrashing. Ata said that no supernatural punishment, such as the premature departure of the bonito, would follow wrong cutting. It seems likely, however, that anciently there must have been some sort of supernatural sanction. The method as described to me follows:

> The fish is placed on its side with the tail towards the operator. The knife (anciently, at least, of bamboo) is drawn from a point just posterior to the lateral fin nearly to the tail, then curvingly around to the belly. Without being lifted, the knife is then drawn back in the groove just cut to the starting point, then drawn tailwards again, then curvingly to the back, then to the starting point; then down from the starting point and up the belly. Again it is drawn back to the starting point, tailwards, curvingly to and up the back, then to the starting point. It is then drawn down again and up the back, then around on to the other side of the back to a position below the lateral fin on that side. At the same time this movement of the knife is executed the fish is turned and the operation repeated on the other side. At no time during the operation is the knife lifted. After the cutting the fish is lifted up by the tail and if the work has been properly done the flesh falls off and is easily disconnected from the backbone.

Fishing for the *vete* (about a foot long and with a longitudinal yellow stripe) and other fishes, in the charge of the petty chief called Latukefu, is done on the weather shore of Tongatabu near Kolovai. When the fishes come through the passage in the reef into the shallow water, Latukefu, who has had one of his people on watch, reports it to Ata. The *vete* is caught with a hand net (*kupenga sili*), which Latukefu's male relatives in particular are taught to use. The first catch, called *kato kia* (basket to) Ata, is sent at once to Ata, who sets aside the fish for the Tui Kanokupolu and instructs

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the order of family right to the craft, was severely criticized and socially punished by his family and even by his neighbors. The informant was in doubt as to whether the confirming chief would override such an illogical choice.

If the male members in the family of a *tufunga* lack aptitude, ambition, or any other necessary quality, or show decided inferiority in comparison with someone outside the family, this outsider, following a presentation of gifts to the *tufunga* (from the applicant's family), may be chosen to succeed to the order. This appointee's sons then continue to carry on the particular *tufunga* tradition and practice.

All the people of a village contribute toward the building of the chief's house under the direction of a single *tufunga*.

Some living representatives of *tufunga* families in Lifuka Island, Haapai, are as follows:

Josiah Paluto, *tufunga langafale* and *tufunga lalava*, his father, Job Femuiaki, his grandfather and his great-grandfather were also *tufunga;* Ngauamo, *tufunga vaka;* Femuiaki, *tufunga langafale;* Mailau Fuopau, *tufungataomaka.*

According to a Vavau informant, carpenters were called the "Children of Tangaloa Tufunga," that is, "Tangaloa the Artisan." A tradition states that before the time of Ulukalala, the carpenters were driven from Vavau during a war and went to Fiji to settle and that there they built a fort, so strong that the Fijians could not take it. This brief snatch of legend suggests a sort of organization on the part of the carpenters, but at the present time there is nothing in the nature of a carpenters' guild.

Only one person in a family held the title which went with a trade. As usual, the title seems to have descended most frequently from the father to the eldest son. Thus the predecessor of Eke, a boat builder of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, was his mother's father, who also was Eke—a title which is bestowed by the chief Ata. The present Eke had the title conferred upon him by the present Ata. Eke is of Samoan extraction and of matapule rank; in fact, the name Eke is a matapule name. An ancestor of the present Eke is believed to have come from Samoa in the time of Tohuia, the Samoan mother of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu.

The father, paternal grandfather, and a great-grandfather of Fakauho, another house builder of the Hihifo district, all bore the same title and were all carpenters. The present Fakauho, popularly known as Fiso, had his title conferred upon him by the present Ata about 1910. Fakauho is also a stone mason and constructs stone burial vaults (*fonualoto*). Should the chief Ata want a house built, he orders the Fakauho to do the work. Fakauho's assistants are his relatives, but Ata orders commoners to help in the rough and heavy work.

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rough and heavy work. He feeds them with the best of foods. When the work is over, he makes a handsome present of fine mats and other objects to the chief carpenter. A carpenter, even if dissatisfied with the conditions, may not throw down his tools—as is done in Samoa. A carpenter may build houses for matapules and commoners as well as chiefs. Only rarely he builds a house for a commoner, and only when the commoner is so fortunate as to possess something suitable as a present. Most commoners erect their own humble dwellings. The matapules, however, invariably having plenty of worldly goods, can well afford to pay the carpenter.

Burial vaults made of six slabs of coral limestone forming a rectangular box are the work of stone masons called *tufunga taomaka*. Mariner limits the stone mason to the *mua* and *tua* classes but Fakauho, who is at the same time mason and carpenter, is a matapule—perhaps a modern exception.

Fishing

Communal fishing (*pola*) in Tonga is practiced on a large scale. In a seaside community a *toutai*, to whom the special name of *pulepola* (ruler of the *pola*) is applied, organizes the fishing. He gets a number of men (*kauleo*) to assist him in supplying of materials and constructing the apparatus. In a *pola* held near Nukualofa on February 12, 1921, about forty of these men directed the activities of more than a thousand people:

On February 9, the *kauleo* with their wives and children, headed by the *pulepola*, assembled at the appointed place and for two days made preparation. Before noon of February 12 the apparatus, including a huge fence of coconut leaves, was completed. Meantime all the countryside, men, women, and children, had gathered on the beach to take part in the fishing. The *pulepola*, the district chief, and the *kauleo* caught two baskets of fish which were sent to the Queen by two boys on horseback. After this tribute was made, everyone kept what he caught, even those who had taken no hand in the construction of the apparatus. The *kauleo* and the *pulepola* were well oiled, girded with good mats and *sisi* and wore flower garlands about the neck. The rest of the people were dressed in ordinary working clothes.

Each *tofia* (hereditary lands of a chief) had exclusive rights to the *pola* grounds (*tanungapola*) on its waterfront and any community fronting on the shore could at will construct *pola* on its waterfront. Inland communities did not take part, obtaining fish from seashore peoples of the same chiefly districts.

If the shore lines of a chief's territory did not possess the sandy bottom essential to the *pola* construction, he could seek permission to use a neighboring *tanungapola*. Should permission be granted, the chief of the *tofia*

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LAND OWNERSHIP

Regarding the ancient systems of land tenure in Tonga, Alexander (1) writes;

On passing from the three other western groups [New Zealand, Samoa, Fiji] to Tonga, we find a remarkable and striking change in political institutions, in land tenure, and in social customs. In a word, we are politically, though not geographically, in eastern Polynesia. We find no organized village communities or clans, holding lands in common, but a fully developed feudal system, and a strong centralized government. The patriarchal head of the clan has become a landlord, and the clansmen, bound to their chief by the tie of blood relationship, have become his tenants and subjects. From Rev. L. Fison we learn that the nation was divided into four main tribes, two of which were further subdivided into subtribes.

From the Rev. Thos. West we learn that "the lands were held in fief." The great landlords held them by hereditary right, but subject to the king, and they in turn subdivided them among their kinsmen and followers. It was on the great chiefs that the king depended for military support, which they willingly rendered him, as the title by which they retained their possessions. Through them also the king received a general tribute from the people. The chiefs, also in the order, claimed the service or property of their tenants. The lowest order was ground down and oppressed by that above it. The "Tuas" could not call anything they had their own. The great chiefs could seize on whatever took their fancy. Besides, the king or his representatives could assess labor upon the whole community whenever he pleased. The chiefs also claimed a share of all the fish taken by their tenants. The most servile homage was rendered to them as in the Society and Hawaiian islands. On a father's death his property descended to his children. On the mother's death her property remained with her husband and children, not excepting her *dower* land, which did not revert to her own kindred as in the other western groups, where Tribal tenure prevailed.

Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 412) says:

The orders, or classes, amongst their Chiefs, or those who call themselves such, seemed to be almost as numerous as amongst us; but there are few, in comparison, that are lords of large districts of territory; the rest holding their lands under those principal barons, as they may be called. I was, indeed, told, that when a man of property dies, everything he leaves behind him falls to the king; but that it is usual to give it to the eldest son of the deceased, with an obligation to make a provision, out of it, for the rest of the children. It is not the custom here, as at Otaheite, for the son, the moment he is born, to take from the father the homage and title; but he succeeds to them, at his decease; so that their form of government is not only monarchical, but hereditary.

MODERN LANDED NOBLES

Thomson (54, pp. 230, 231) has the following to say concerning land tenure:

Chief among the purely Tongan enactments of the new code were the land laws. In former times the soil of Tonga was vested in the Tui Tonga—the spiritual chief. The great nobles and small cultivators held their lands from him, and he had theoretically the right to dispossess them at will. When the office of Tui Tonga became vacant, and the title was absorbed by the present king, the people readily adopted the idea that all the land was vested in the Crown, who had the power to grant holdings in return for taxes. But in 1888, Mr. Baker, acting either under pressure from the chiefs, or spontaneously wishing

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Lutui was the grandfather of the present Lutui. Veamalohi or Tokelau Malohi was the ancestor of Tea of to-day. 423 173

INHERITANCE OF PERSONAL PROPERTY

Wealth (*koloa*) took the form of mats, tapa, and other manufactured articles. When a man died his *koloa* was divided by his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) or his oldest living sister, among the near relatives on both sides of the family, the sister's son receiving the biggest share. Sometimes the relatives came and picked out what they wanted. All *ngatu* tapa and *ngafingafi* mats were buried with the dead. This buried wealth is called *koloa kekekele*. 428 [764]

ADMINISTRATION

The north-south trend of the Tongan archipelago renders communication easy during the time that the Trade Winds blow. Wilson (66, p. liv) says that most, if not all of the islands, were regularly visited by the "sovereign or commander in chief" and that the rulers kept in touch with the rank and file of the population in remote islands, not only through the local governors and stewards, but also by personal visits. Much the same scheme prevails in modern Tonga, for occasionally the sovereign, and more frequently high officials such as the chief justice, voyage to the parts of the kingdom remote from Tongatabu. 643 484 [132] 621

Although commoners had absolutely no voice in governmental affairs they were assembled in what is called a *fono*, to hear orders from the chiefs. Anciently the *fono* was employed as a means for telling the people what to do in connection with work or war. Every adult in a district had to attend. At such gatherings the chiefs and their matapules did the talking; commoners could not speak and had no representatives. Such also is the practice in modern Tonga. Chiefs and sometimes matapules had a voice in decisions, though usually it was the duty of the matapule merely to convey the chief's orders to the people. It is obvious that a Tongan *fono* was different from a Samoan *fono*, which was a deliberative parliamentary gathering. 643 642 565 622 [641] 624 [624] [171]

The chiefs of the Hihifo district of Tongatabu would have an independent *fono* so far as work in Hihifo was concerned but would probably consult the chiefs of the Hahake district and the Tui Tonga in a subject concerning the whole island, as for instance, war. 622 621 643 634

There were meetings (*fakataha*) of chiefs and of matapules to discuss arrangements for various undertakings, such as a funeral feast. A meeting of this nature was not a *fono*. 622 624

Compulsory labor (*fatongia*) dates from early times. No pay was given but apparently food was supplied. It was a sort of corvee system 466

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administered by superior chiefs anciently, and now, by the established Government. It was no doubt the system by which labor was requisitioned for the construction of the great royal tombs, the pigeon mounds, the great trilithon, and other works for royal or public purposes. The account of Matauvave, the Tui Tonga's steward in Haapai, is a good example of the working of the system. (See p. 69.) A rebellion against the oppressiveness of this system in early times is cited by Thomson (54, pp. 294, 300). Wilson mentions the *fatongia* (*fadangyeer*) or tax on labor and states that inferior chiefs sent men two or three times a week to labor for the Tui Kanokupolu ("Dugonagaboola"). He also says (65, p. 384, liii):

> In improvements and civil government the people of the Friendly Islands appear superior . . . their lands better cultivated, their roads neatly maintained, and their country generally enclosed with reed fences; property also appears more protected, and no arbitrary exactions noticed; . . .

In 1797, according to Wilson, there were three main districts in Tongatabu, each governed by an absolute ruler; the northwestern, Hihifo (Aheefo) district, ruled by the Tui Kanokupolu; the middle, Mua district, ruled by Fatafehi (Futtafaihe) probably the Tui Pelehake; and the southeastern, Hahake (Ahoge) district, ruled by Vaharlo. Subdivisions of these districts were ruled by inferior chiefs. Perhaps in some measure the boundaries of these three districts coincided with the three modern districts (*vahe*) of Hihifo, Loto (middle), and Hahake. To what extent these districts were administrative rather than purely geographic is not clear.

The following account of the origin of the name Pukotala gives a picture of the method of transmitting orders from a chief to his tenants:

> On the island of Haano there are four villages. Starting from the northwestern end of the island, they are Muitoa, Haano or Lotohaano, Pukotala, and Fakakakai. The lord of the island, known as Tui Haa Ngana, holds sway over the first three, but Fakakakai never had a chief and as its name indicates is made up of people from different parts that have settled there. In the olden days when the chief desired to give notice to the people of some new arrangement, he summoned his attendants and matapule to Haano and told them what he wanted accomplished. A runner was dispatched to Pukotala to acquaint the folk there of Tui Haa Ngana's intentions. On the outskirts of the village was a big *puko* tree ("cottonwood") and up this the runner used to climb and yell out at the top of his voice his chief's wishes. It was from this circumstance that the place derived its name: *puko*, cottonwood tree; *tala*, to tell.

The early voyagers mention portable houses set up at convenient places near anchorages for the reception of visitors. At the abodes of great chiefs were special houses, open on all sides where meetings were held, public affairs transacted, and foreigners received in state. Tasman pictures such a house, which he describes as a raised and roofed platform (30). This is probably the type of structure designated by the Tongans of today as *falehau*.

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would choose a friend of his own to superintend operations on the end of the rope by which the stone slab was lowered into place, and his saying to this friend, "Pulu hoo tuku kau moui," was a request to let down gently in order to give him a chance of life. The name of an undertaker Mailau is preserved as having been so shut in a vault. In the ceremonies following burial the matapule of the chief, either successor to the dead man, or the head of the family before, sat on the chief's right hand and the undertaker sat on his left. On this occasion, since Mailau was in the vault and unable to take his position and perform his duties on the left of the chief, someone went each morning and called to him the work that had been done, and enumerated the ovens of food that had been presented. For eight days the unfortunate man in the vault called out the appropriate thanks, but on the ninth morning there was no response from below, and presuming that Mailau was dead, the chief proceeded to the appointment of his successor.

Burial alive of a victim beneath a house post may have been an occasional practice in Tonga. One instance only came to light and that in connection with the erection of the Falemee, which was a temple, presumably to Hikuleo, on the island of Haano, Haapai. Dr. S. W. Baker in a lecture given on November 2, 1866, made the following statement about it:

> I have stood in the old Fale Mee at Haano, which is the last *fale otua* (temple of their god) still standing in Haapai. At the foot of the principal post there is buried a man, who was said to be the best singer in all Tonga. He was offered a living sacrifice to the god at the building of the temple, as an act of dedication.

The launching of great vessels over the bodies of commoners was asserted by the chief Ata in reply to a leading question. He said that he had heard such a tale from the chief Fulivai of Vavau. The information was volunteered by another informant that a chief once killed one or two men who were aiding in the launching of a great vessel, in order to stimulate the remaining men to greater effort. Takai, the one-eyed chief of Pea, Tongatabu, on one occasion killed the first man of a crew that was tugging half-heartedly on the ropes by which a great stone slab was being moved from the weather shore to Pea.

One informant told of the title Tupou Angataha which was an office dedicated to sacrifice:

> A Tupou Angataha had proven a traitor in war to the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga [probably before his appointment]. As a punishment Laufilitonga ordained that a Tupou Angataha should die every other day. The duty of selecting each new appointee was placed in the hands of Tupou Vakehekehe, a chief of the Haa Ngata. Each new Tupou Angataha was proclaimed by the matapule at the kava circle of Laufilitonga. The Tupou Angataha appointed one day was executed the next day by the club or the strangling cord. How many victims were thus appointed and executed was not known. The last appointee fled from Tongatabu to Haapai and not only escaped execution himself, but put an end to the series.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 work. So of a man who seems to be on the job but is in reality putting
483 very little real work into it.
461 It is also explained as referring to two or more people going through
the bush together, walking in single file as the Tongans invariably do, when
539 the front man, grasping a branch and holding it out of his own way, lets
576 it fly back in the face of the man following. This is the explanation given
481 by Baker, but although he had opportunities of getting correct elucidations denied to the present day investigator, yet the other application of the expression has much to recommend it.

539 **119. Taki taha tali hono vaha-ngatae:** Each one accept his duty:
461 each one do his duty.
417 The word *vaha-ngatae*, translated "duty", is commonly and probably
466 correctly explained as meaning literally "between the *ngatae*". The *ngatae*
622 was used as fencing posts or for marking lengths of the fences in the com-
565 pounds of high chiefs. When the people were mustered to build the fence they were assigned to do so many spans between the *ngatae*, and thus the distance between the *ngatae* came to be used in the sense of one's share of a task, duty.

539 **120. Ojiki a velenga:** Finished desire.
461 The division of this phrase into its component words, and the literal translation, are conjectural, but the sense in which the expression is employed is that of doing to the utmost of one's power.

121. Ta fakalanga ta: Stroke arousing stroke.

When workmen are weary and are resting they will be stirred to recommence their labor if one of their number gets up and starts working again. Used also of a remark which arouses antagonism, and begets strife
[578 and argument.

122. Tuai kae ngai: Slow but moving on gradually.

Has its obvious meaning of that which cannot make any great pace, but nevertheless keeps advancing.

Another form, apparently modern, is *Tuai kae nga'i*, which means slow but creaking, that is, creaking on its way: the idea being that of a cart moving sluggishly and creakily. The application is the same as above.

123. Tuu kau oi: Stand I shall grunt, groan.

Used by a weak or aged man to himself as he forces himself to get about some work. Come on old chap, get to it even if it does make you groan.

124. Valevale malohi: Unskilled (but) strong, or a strong unskilled person: an unskilled person who works with a will.

A man who has no special skill but who works with all his might ("does strongly" as the Tongan idiom has it), is more satisfactory than a

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 184 576 574 276 **354. Faka-Niuniua-foou:** Niua Foou fashion.

Tongans generally do not ask a stranger his name directly but ask a third person who knows him, whereas the people of Niua Foou make no scruple of a point blank inquiry. Hence to ask anybody his name directly is to act in the Niua Foou way. There is a special application to kava drinking. The *matabule* who is directing the brewing and distribution of the drink may not know the names of all present. A very common proceeding in such as case is to quietly inquire of one sitting near who so-and-so is; but he may say "We'll do Niua Foou way," and then without further invitation the strangers will each tell their names, or someone who knows them will name them out.

OTHER LOCALITIES

539 183 **355. Faji pe jila tuku ki Manono:** Boom broken—leave it to Manono, or boom broken, impute it to Manono.

Either of these expressions is a literal translation of the words. The origin of the phrase is obscure, but it is applied in two ways in accordance with the two translations given: 1. When a thing is broken, leave it to such a one, or to certain people who are skilled craftsmen and will mend it; 2. When a thing is broken, impute the blame for the mishap to so-and-so.

539 829 177 **356. Hange ha tama Polataane:** Like a British man.

This indicates one of martial aspect. Presumably the Tongans in the days of their first contact with European seamen grew accustomed to the sight of fully armed landing parties.

539 643 466 264 823 **357. Koe aho ni ape e tuku ki Uvea:** Today apparently is to be left to Uvea.

When the Tui Tonga had a big piece of work on hand, as for example building or repairing his boat, the *Ikiheuhe*, the duty of feeding the carpenters was apportioned among the various districts in rotation, even as far as Uvea. The Uveans lived a long way off, and on their day the workmen frequently went hungry. So on any day when it was not clear whether any food would be forthcoming for them or not the carpenters were wont to say, "H'm, looks as though today were being left to Uvea." Used generally of uncertainty whether a desired event will happen or not.

539 823 [177] [609] **358. Ko Vaihi e:** That's Hawaii.

Indicates that which is far off and impossible. Much as English people speak of asking for the moon. "Did you get such a thing?" "That's Hawaii," that is, I have as much chance of getting that as I have of getting Hawaii. We are unable to say with certainty, but think it probable that this name Vaihi is an old recollection preserved in Tongan tradition, but a recent innovation since the visits of European vessels. A variation of this is *Ko Vaihi matuleulou*, that is, yellow-eyed, or yellow, Hawaii; but we do not know the reason of the epithet.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 578 **512. Mala fai e tangata:** Curse that man makes.

A curse that does not come from the unseen powers but is the fault of man himself.

539 183 **513. Muimui a nunua:** Retribution following after.

This is the pessimistic statement that sorrow is following on the heels of men.

539 681 183 **514. Toka moe kafa:** Lying with cord, lying down bound.

One who is not lying down because he wants to but because he is a bound prisoner and can not do otherwise. It may be translated also, "Existing with cord, existing bound," but the idea is precisely the same of a prisoner in bonds. So generally of a person who must pursue a certain course of action, of things that must of necessity be done.

COMMON PEOPLE

539 466 461 **515. Fai faka-fatongia:** Doing compulsory task fashion.

The *fatongia* was the forced service exacted from the people by the chiefs. This indicates a job that one does not set about whole-heartedly because he wishes to do it; but one which he does unwillingly and only because he must. "Government stroke."

539 565 829 571 **516. Fiemua e tua ki mua:** The commoner trying to outwit (a) chief.

The chiefs were the repositories of wisdom and knowledge: the commoners lacked their intelligence and experience. Consequently for a commoner to attempt to get the better of a chief was a mark of foolish presumption. So used generally of a man trying to outwit one wiser than himself, of an inferior attempting to get the better of his superior.

539 554 183 **517. Ha fie matai koia e tangenge:** A would-be craftsman that (that is) large.

Used in rebuke for forwardness, presumption. The nuance of the Tongan phrase is not greatly different from some such English colloquialism as, "Well, that's a pretty tall order." "You certainly have got some hide."

539 565 431 **518. Jii kae ha:** Small but appearing.

Used of one who wishes to appear to the chiefs or people but has very little that he can take as a present. Notwithstanding the insignificance of his offering he takes and presents it and achieves the prominence that he desires.

539 726 565 411 **519. Kai foto a tua:** Commoner eating sting ray's tail, or as we should say in English, making cannon fodder of himself.

The tail of the sting ray was used to tip the spears, and the sense is that of the commoner braving all the dangers of war, with the further

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

which the reader of the former pages can easily account, from their having been rivals for power.

: Is was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send men, two or three times a week, to "fadongyeer," i. e. to dig, plant, and labour for Dugonagaboola. Sometimes five hundred of these tributary labourers were at work, at the same time, on his estate. That no offence might be given, I applied to him to excuse my services. He laughed heartily at the idea of my thinking to fadongyeer for him, as he considered me, he said, a chief like himself.

My labourers finding they had only my estate to attend to, were much gratified, found their work easy, and performed it with cheerfulness. Choosing a pleasant spot, at one corner of my abbee, I built myself a fallee, or habitation, and made a plantation round it, of plantain, bread-fruit, and cocoa trees. From my fallee, I made a sandy gravel walk, six feet in breadth, and about two hundred yards in length, through the abbee to the high road, which ran along one end of it: and planted it on each side with sugar canes.

In about half a year, my plantation began to flourish, and was the object of general admiration, and obtained for me much respect and attention. The young men, as they passed, would ask, "Whose abbee is this?" Others would reply, "Tongatta pappa langee," "It belongs to the man from the sky," or "Moola." "it is the stranger's." As I

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

in virtue of his local rank. His office, however, seemed to place him next to the Governor in importance, for he alone can have the ordering of other men's labour without paying for it—a distinction that carries weight in every community. Tukuaho told them how much he regretted that an empty Treasury had tied his hands, so that he could not yet pay them the nine months' salary due to them on Mr Baker's departure; but he announced that from that day forward their salaries would be punctually remitted to them, and that the payment of the amount owing to them by his predecessor (he was not going to speak ill of the absent) would depend upon their own loyalty. The sooner they could induce their friends to pay their taxes, the sooner would they receive the arrears due to them.

Next day the mail-steamer from New Zealand put in, after touching at Nukualofa. From the former place she brought Mr Baker's son—formerly his private secretary—carrying, for distribution among the natives, a bundle of lithographs of his father, subscribed "The Premier appointed by Tubou"; and from the latter Mr Watkin, the chief minister of the Free Church, and the staunch ally of the late Premier, ostensibly to make church collections, but also, as it afterwards proved, to further unsettle the minds of his flock.

At mid-day we set sail for Nukualofa. A chain of volcanoes traverses the Tongan group from north to south, and one or other of the craters is generally in a state of sufficient activity to be employed by one of the contending Church parties against the other. In August 1886, the sudden eruption in Niuafoou was pointed to by the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

645 And with all this we knew that our enemies were busy in
578 Vavau trying to sow distrust of us in the mind of the king.

697 Of all non-financial departments in the public service, the Prison was that which called first for reform. The jail was a wooden building fitted with tiny cells, so ill-ventilated that to confine any person in them for many hours would be dangerous. In practice, only persons just arrested were confined there pending their trial: con-
696 victs were not confined at all. It was the most economi-
466 cal penal system in the world, for the convicts had to lodge, feed, and clothe themselves. A man sentenced to a fine of £20 must work for the Government for 400 days (his daily task being valued at 1s.) He might live at home, and work for the Government during the daytime: his sentence was counted by working days only, and did not include Sundays, nor days too wet to allow of work. The same rule applied to convicts sentenced to penal servitude. An original sentence of two years would be lengthened by sickness or wet weather to nearly three years, for it meant 730 days' labour. He could take a few holidays here and there when he pleased; but if he absented himself for many days in succession, he would receive a domiciliary visit from the head jailer. If he had a horse and cart, the loan of it to the Government, when the steamer was in, would reduce the sentence at the rate of 4s. a-day. The prisoners were variously em-
[592] ployed. Some were the household servants of the king
[643] and the Cabinet Ministers—my seat in the Cabinet en-
[645] titled me to two; others formed the crew of the Government vessels; others were stationed at the pilot station

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

on an island in the bay; but the majority lived upon the Government banana plantations. All alike were free to sleep where they pleased, and, if their homes were at a distance, were obliged to beg or steal their food. The female prisoners, who were generally in trouble for social offences, might be seen any day weeding the public squares; while their brown babies, oblivious of the fact that they had no right to exist, rolled about in the shade of the nearest tree. As a natural consequence of such a system, there was not only no disgrace attaching to imprisonment, but, since the beginning of the Church quarrels, there was even a certain *cachet* in being one of the goodly company of ministers of the Church and men of rank in trouble for their religious views.

Let it not be supposed that so great a legislator as Mr Baker had forgotten to provide regulations for the control of his convicts. I discovered them by mere accident, for they were not published. As already related, the son of the late Premier had passed through the group distributing photographs of his estimable father. The day he left Nukualofa, Ula, the head jailer, came to Tukuaho with a document in Tongan in the young man's handwriting, which may be translated as follows: "I, Ula, do declare before God that I have never flogged a woman by the orders of Mr Baker." There was a date and a place for the signature and the seal, neither of which had been affixed. "He sent twice to me to ask me to sign this," said Ula, "but I would not. Then he came himself, and asked me to sign by the love that I bore his father, but still I would not, so he called me by bad names and went away in the steamer."

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

XVI.

LORDS AND COMMONS IN COUNCIL.

THE Ministry were at last in a position to fix the day for the making of history. The Code was drafted, the representatives of the people were all duly elected, the new uniforms had come from a Sydney tailor, and the store on the wharf was piled high with sacks of provisions and cases of strong liquors, upon which the fate of the Ministry mainly depended, since legislators cannot be complaisant on empty stomachs. In this again I was compelled to recognise the master mind of the late Premier. It may be inconvenient to force upon the Ministry the task of catering for the parliamentary table, but so long as one has to reckon with the physiological fact that the road to a man's heart is down his throat, the arrangement gives a Government of epicurean tendencies an immense advantage over the Opposition.

The King's Guards, the band, the College students, and the clerks of the House had all undergone rehearsals: there remained but one important function before the Parliament was ready for the business of the country. Wait-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

645 646 466 resses had to be selected for the dining-table of the House. Kubu invited me to form one of the committee charged with the delicate duty of selecting a band of twenty from among the competitors. We took our seats at the long table in the hall, and sternly ordered the candidates to be brought before us. A clerk with the instruments of his trade sat beside us, to give an air of formality to the proceedings. "Two things are necessary," I heard it whispered; "they must be comely, and they must be

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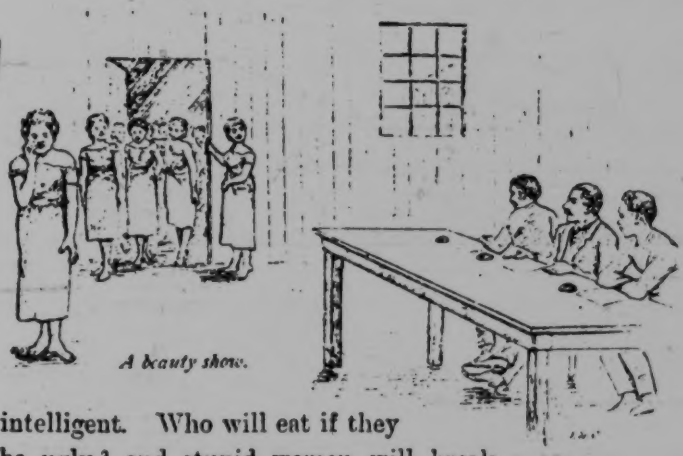


A beauty show.

intelligent. Who will eat if they be ugly? and stupid women will break the plates." Then from the door that led kitchenwards twenty damsels sidled in and sat down on the long [516] form facing us. Some sucked their fingers in bashfulness; a few looked shyly defiant; the majority giggled. None of them looked as if they would break plates, but several fell short, very far short, of the first require- [574] ment. One damsel in particular had been so harshly treated by Nature that I whispered my doubts to my

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

neighbour. "It is true," he answered, "but we can never reject her for such a reason. She would die of shame. The other girls would cast it in their teeth." So they were all taken and divided into watches under the leadership of matrons of experience,—four to the kitchen, and eight to each of the tables destined to accommodate the Lords and Commons. Those who had never waited at table before were ordered to take lessons in the houses of the missionaries; and Joe, the captain of the Kumeti, was appointed head steward and keeper of the spirit-room, because strong liquors were known to disagree with him.

At last the contingent from the distant Niuas arrived, and we became anxious that the opening of Parliament, already delayed three weeks beyond the appointed time, should take place without further delay. Rumour had been busy on the beach. The king, it was said, would not open Parliament until the High Commissioner had left: the Government were afraid to face the Vavau contingent in their present frame of mind. The former rumour determined us to fix the opening ceremony a day or two before H.M.S. Cordelia left. The king made no difficulties; and the last week of preparation was spent in meetings of the Cabinet and Privy Council, in final rehearsal, and in providing with open-handed liberality for the creature comforts of the Opposition.

There was but one hitch in the arrangements. We had prepared the King's Speech with some care. The only allusion to the political events of the recess was a short sentence, "You all know that I have lately dismissed my Premier, and have appointed a Tongan in his stead." The

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

Uvea,[1] from Futuna,[2] and even from Haamoa[3] and the far islands to the North.[4] No man knows whence he derived his power, unless indeed he was a descendant of the gods themselves, of Tangaloa, of Ikuleo, and of Mau'i, but this is hidden in the clouds of the ages. The people of Tonga were so thick in the land that the commands of the king were carried from one end of the land to the other, the people lying on their mats and shouting the message one to the other. It was the time of "*Fanogonogo Tokoto*" (making proclamation when reclining).[5] And seeing that all men were his slaves, and that the world held none that did not do him homage, the Tui Tonga put heavy burdens upon the people, and made them drag great stones and set them up for a memorial of his greatness; and the people neglected their yam plantations to do the tasks set them by their king, so that there was a great scarcity. And when they hungered they began to cry out against their king, for men are ever hard to govern when their bellies are empty.

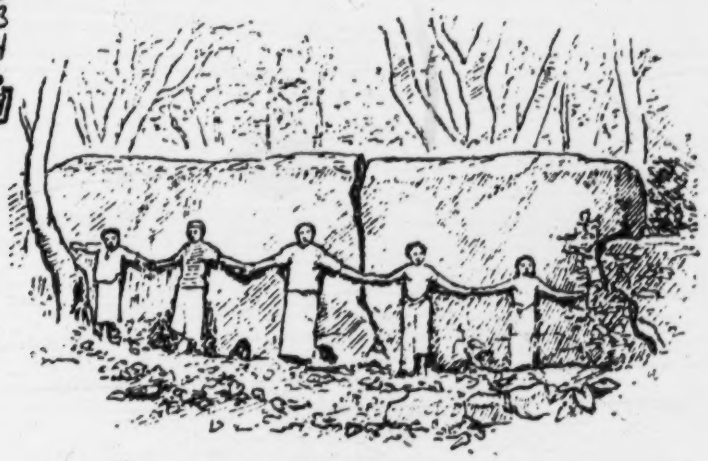
Now there came a Tui Tonga, named Takalaua, who was strong and harsh, and was greatly feared of the people. Every day he sent out his fishermen from Mua into the bay, and they would land on the islands to arrange their nets. One day they landed on Ata, near Euaiki, and when they sailed the two old people who

[1] Wallis Island. [2] Hoorn Island.
[3] Samoa. [4] Gilbert Islands.
[5] At the time of Tasman's visit in 1643 there seem to have been no villages. The land was highly cultivated and fenced, and each family lived in its own plantation. It is more probable that the *Fanogonogo Tokoto* referred to this than that the population was ever much greater than at present.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

suckle them as other women suckle their children?" And he granted her prayer, and let her suckle the child; and she called him Lo-tawai. So he only of them all saw his father, the Tui Tonga.

And as the years passed the Tui Tonga's face was changed towards his people, and he laid heavy tasks upon them, even in the planting-time, when every man should be in his own yam-garden. For he built a tomb for himself in the burying-place of his fathers; but he would surpass them all, and bade the people hew great stones from the reef, greater than any of his fathers had taken for their *malae*. And the stone-cutters hewed a huge stone upon the Liku, like an island for greatness; and the Tui Tonga sent to the people of Belehake, saying, "Go, and drag the stone for the side of my *malae;* so I shall not be forgotten hereafter."



The Tomb of a King.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

They toiled at the stone all day, sore at heart, for it was planting-time, and in the evening they sent to Tui Tonga, praying that he would suffer them first to plant their yams, and afterwards return to drag the stone, for that it would take many days, and the time for yam-planting was far spent. But he returned answer that they were idle and dishonoured his commands. And the people were afraid when they heard his answer, and gathered together to the stone before it was yet day. And the sun rose on their toil, but the stone was so heavy that when it was low in the west they had only reached the cave Anameama, on the Liku, where there is fresh water. Their throats were dried up with thirst, and they crowded one upon the other in their haste to drink; but so many were they that before they had all drunk the pool was dry, and they licked the mud, and cursed their king in their hearts.

Then one said, "How long shall we suffer this? He has other tasks in his mind for us, and who knows whether we shall live or die, and our wives be given to others? Shall we not take rest?"

So they conspired that night to kill the Tui Tonga, and in the morning two old men, Tamajia and Malofafa of Belehake, met him in the path as he went to bathe, and slew him there, and cut up the body so that none might know it, and hung the limbs in a tree.

And one of the king's women ran to Niutao, to tell the children that their father was dead. They were racing toy canoes in the shallow water; and Kau-ulu-fonua, the elder, now almost grown to manhood, was intent upon his canoe, and saw not that the sea was rising and falling

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

down and oppressed by that above it. Thus, if a man or family possessed flourishing lands, or a stock of hogs or poultry, or any other kind of wealth, these were never secure from the covetous eyes of a superior. At any moment, any portion of his goods, or all, might be demanded by an imperious chief, and appropriated to his own purposes. This system acted as an effectual bar to general improvement in the cultivation of the soil, or the acquirement of property, by the mass of the people. Beside this general right of the chiefs to despoil their inferiors, the king, or his immediate representative, could assess labour upon the entire community, when and how he pleased.

Servile homage was paid to superiors, particularly to priests and chiefs of the highest rank. Neither their persons could be touched, nor their houses entered, without express permission. Among them a considerable degree of courtesy prevailed, accompanied by a refinement of language and demeanour, which indicated conscious rank. The distinction, indeed, between themselves and the lower classes, was marked by these things, more than by any great superiority in houses, or dress, or food; and that this distinction might be carried to its farthest limit, the chiefs had a conventional or courtly dialect, understood and used only among and to themselves. Respect for the persons or property of the common people was unknown, when in conflict with the covetousness of a superior. If a common man made use of any consecrated property belonging to a chief, or if he came into the presence of a chief with a wreath about his head, or with the head wet, or should he touch the head of the chief, or reach to take any object from above where he sat, or should

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

In terms of the traditional social and political organisation, all land in Tonga belonged to the sacred Tui Tonga. After the familiar feudal fashion (for traditional Tongan society was a "fully developed feudal system"[4]), there were chiefs who were "lords of large districts of territory"[5] and who held their lands from the king in return for taxes and military service. These "principal barons, as they may be called"[6] sublet their holdings to their lesser kinsmen and followers, and everyone held land from his superior in a pattern similar to that between the king himself and his barons. Gifford quotes W. D. Alexander in this connection as follows:[7]

> From the Rev. Thos. West we learn that "the lands were held in fief." The great landlords held them by hereditary right, but subject to the king, and they in turn subdivided them among their kinsmen and followers. It was on the great chiefs that the king depended for military support, which they willingly rendered him, as the title by which they retained their possessions. Through them also the king received a general tribute from the people. The chiefs, also in the order, claimed the service or property of their tenants. The lowest order was ground down and oppressed by that above it. The "Tuas" could not call anything their own. The great chiefs could seize on whatever took their fancy. Besides, the king or his representatives could assess labor upon the whole community whenever he pleased. The chiefs also claimed a share of all the fish taken by their tenants. The most servile homage was rendered to them as in the Society and Hawaiian Islands. On a father's death his property descended to his children. On the mother's death her property remained with her husband and children, not excepting her *dower* land, which did not revert to her own kindred as in the other western groups, where tribal tenure prevailed.

This passage needs some elaboration to be entirely clear, for it is closely associated with the lineage organisation of Tonga. The Tongan lineage, known as the *ha'a*, was based upon patrilineal descent, but depended upon the existence of a powerful chief (i.e., an eldest son in a line of eldest sons) at its head to preserve it. With the political vicissitudes of these chiefs, however, their lineages waxed and waned, and at times the weak ones were absorbed by the stronger ones so that *structurally* drastic realignments would occur. The Tongan *ha'a* was therefore not a pure lineage in the classical sense, but a political association of people around a lineage core under a powerful chief. This clarifies Alexander's reference to "kinsmen and followers", for a lineage contained both; and to "the great landlords", who were the heads of these lineages.

What was the role of such a lineage organisation in land tenure? Referring to the present, Gifford says that "the lands of each lineage in Tongatabu tend to form a compact area"[8] and refers to a map which

[4] Alexander 1888, quoted in Gifford 1929:171.
[5] Cook 1784a:412, quoted in Gifford 1929:171.
[6] loc. cit.
[7] Alexander 1888, quoted in Gifford 1929:171.
[8] Gifford 1929:33.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97]

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

tabooing for the chiefs things belonging to the commoners, particularly food crops. A section of the 1850 Code pertained to the taking of anything forcibly (1850 Code, XIII).

This provision certainly went much further than the first one in 1839, although other provisions in the Code still allowed the chiefs to order their people to work for them.

In order to make the necessary reforms, King George called a meeting of his chiefs in 1859, at Nuku'alofa, which was followed by one in 1860 in Ha'apai and another in Vava'u in 1861. The King found it very difficult to obtain the chief's agreement to the reforms which he himself wanted to make in the laws. The chiefs were unwilling to part with their remaining privileges. In the famous meeting at Pouono, the ceremonial ground at Neiafu, Vava'u, in 1861, many chiefs opposed the Emancipation Edict, complaining that the King had already deprived them of their power and consequently of much of their prestige, and now he was going to deprive them of the only remaining privilege upon which they were dependent for their living—the *fatongia* (enforced labour). 'What would happen to us?' asked Tungī, one of the leading chiefs, 'we cannot fish, we cannot till the land, we cannot do anything for our living. Why don't you just take the *ngia* and leave us the *fato?*' (informant, Siola'ā Soakai).[2]

The King, however, saw the answer to the chiefs' complaint in the rent which was to be paid to them by the land-holders for their tax allotments.

The 1862 Code with its forthright declaration of emancipation for all the people and their chiefs marked a culmination of the earlier developments when it enacted that:

> All chiefs and people are to all intents and purposes set at liberty from serfdom, and all vassalage, from the institution of this law; and it shall not be lawful for any chief or person, to seize, or take by force, or beg authoritatively, in Tonga fashion, any thing from any one. (Clause XXXIV:2)

It should now be apparent that Baker's part in this Code was limited to discussing it with the King and to committing these

[2] *Ngia* for *ngeia* meaning prestige derived from power; *fato* for *fatongia*, enforced labour. It is a play on words.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

of the country were identical, and to obey the laws was to obey the will of their beloved sovereign.

Perhaps the most revolutionary constitutional measures introduced in the 1862 Code were the emancipation of the common people from serfdom, and the setting up of a state revenue out of which the remuneration of government officials was to be paid (Clause XXXIV). There was also a provision dealing with the allotment of farm lands to the people (Clause XXXIV:6 and 7).

The constitutional measures contained in the legislation discussed so far were largely incidental. The primary task confronting the legislators up to this stage was the formulation of laws. It was not until 1875 that a planned constitution was drawn up and promulgated.[1] This constitution was a long document of 132 articles which were contained in three main divisions: Declaration of Rights; Form of Government; and The Lands.

The Declaration of Rights consisted of 32 articles. It contained the usual safeguards, following very closely those of the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852. The first article asserted the right to freedom of person and possessions of 'all people who reside or may reside in this kingdom'. The other articles guaranteed the liberty of every individual, the equality of all men—chiefs or commoners, Tongans or foreigners—before the laws of the country; freedom of worship, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. The people's right to expect the government to protect their life, liberty and property was also guaranteed, and consequently they were expected to 'assist and pay taxes to the Government according to law'. The right to vote for the representative to the Legislative Assembly was given to anyone (native born or naturalised) who had reached 21 years and paid taxes, and who had 'not been guilty of any major crime such as treason, murder, theft, bribery, perjury, forgery and embezzlement or a like crime'. Jury service was expected of everyone eligible to vote excepting members of the legislature, missionaries, teachers and any government employees (see Appendix D, Clause 30).

The continuing influence of the missionaries was evident in such sections as the provision concerning the Sabbath which declared it to be 'sacred in Tonga for ever' (Clause 6).

In the provisions controlling the labour traffic it was stated

1 [See category 642, pp. 252-284--Analyst]

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

that the agreement and contract should be made between the employer and the recruits and 'be lodged in the Government Offices, stating the amount of payment they shall receive, the time they shall work for him, and promising to take them back to their own land', and that the government would see that this contract was carried out. It specifically excluded any Chinese from being brought to Tonga, on the grounds that they might bring leprosy as 'exists in the Sandwich Islands', but there seems little doubt that this provision was heavily influenced by the anti-Chinese sentiments current in Australia and elsewhere at this time (Clause 3).

The second section dealing with the Form of Government also closely followed the Hawaiian Constitution of 1852. It declared that the form of government was to be a constitutional monarchy and that the supreme power of the kingdom was divided between the Executive, consisting of the King, Privy Council and Cabinet; the Legislative Assembly; and the Judiciary.

The prerogatives of the King were clearly set forth and the rules of succession were laid down (Clause 35). The King was Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, but he could not declare war without the consent of the Legislative Assembly. With the consent of the Privy Council, he had power to grant pardon to convicts except in cases of impeachment, and to convene the Legislative Assembly. If he were displeased with it, he could dissolve it and command new representatives to be chosen, but he could not lawfully dismiss any of the nobles of the Legislative Assembly, except in cases of treason. He was entitled to make treaties with foreign nations, but again could do so only with the consent of the Legislative Assembly, and he could appoint ambassadors.

The person of the King was declared sacred. He governed the land, and all laws passed by the Legislative Assembly had to receive his signature before they became law. He had the prerogative of bestowing all titles of honour, but he could not lawfully take away any title except in cases of treason. With the advice of his cabinet, he had the prerogative of arranging what money should be legal tender in the kingdom. Finally, he had power to proclaim martial law for any part of the land, or for